123 /9 cont./ to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar [554 country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. •576] My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud [517 talking and laughing really occur only when several men are 555] together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I 123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I 574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls [562 and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as 576] greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

576 /10 cont./ One soon learns that as a distinguished guest one cannot sit down just anywhere when entering a house. It is wrong to sit down where the lowest are supposed to sit, because then the host is ill at ease. It is conceited, and that is disliked, if one sits down directly in the highest /prestige/ side of the house. It is good since it is a token of modesty, which is appreciated, if one sits down a little lower than where one would actually be allowed to take one's place. These are all mistakes which are not held against an occasional visitor, but which will be found troublesome infractions if they occur in the routine of daily life.

574 576 One further learns that, once seated, one may not leave if something is being prepared in the kitchen. It is better to be much too late for a subsequent appointment than to offend one's host by departing. When high Dutch civil and military [448] authorities, who were present at the wedding feast of one of the grandsons of the Prince of Goa in 1741, stood up during the rather long-drawn-out meal and said farewell, people spoke disapprovingly about this occurrence for weeks after in the kampongs. The offer of refreshments is a sign on the part of the host that he wants to do his guests an honor, and an early departure hurts him.

576 I learned that to shake hands does not belong to the customary greeting ceremony. Those present during a conversation or upon departure, including the host, will as much as "touch" the [778] hand of a high guest in order by so doing to obtain something of the good and fortunate, which, after all, adheres to every higher person. A Macassarese is embarrassed by a "firm" handshake.

The statement "I am leaving now" (lampama') is customary and gives one an intimate feeling. The same applies to the question addressed to a person one encounters on the way: "Where are you coming from?" A detailed answer is not expected. Indication of the wind direction suffices. The purpose of question and answer seems merely to be the creation of an intimate atmosphere. A stranger is passed by in silence, but one remains on one's qui vive.

576 /11/ A stranger is first stared at quietly, "in order to get used to him," as it is said; one looks at his face and judges whether he is "good" or not. Once established, this judgment, whose criteria have not become clear to me, is not subject to much modification.

123 576 Nobody seemed to find it strange that I participated at a festive meal in long trousers and not, like the others, in a sarong; but it was regarded as impolite that I kept my shoes on, and it was found odd when, at a subsequent time, the sarong fit was "wrong." I am left-handed and therefore ate with that [264 hand, but the touching of food with the left hand was observed 514] with disgust, because it is considered that one uses one's left hand in cleaning after defecating.

In themselves these are all small things, but they concern forms of social intercourse which are carried out as a matter of course and thereby furnish emotional security. The foreigner who takes no account of this is offensive, and it is impossible to say beforehand which offense will be felt as so troublesome that his work will suffer from it.

Informants

123 [576] The strict separation of the sexes in this society makes it difficult for a male investigator to work regularly with a female informant. The great mobility of the men also makes regular [166] work with a man difficult. For instance, it was impossible for me to have daily contact with a number of individuals over a long period of time in order to give an account of their life.

[115] The men who functioned best as daily informants were not those who were of the highest standing in their community, but precisely those who, afflicted with a "clerical" mentality in the good sense of the word, were in a position to work regularly and possessed a sense of actuality and detail. Since my stay in Borongloë after the war lasted for only six weeks both times, it was possible for me to adapt myself to this typical mobility by not residing longer than six days in a row with one and the

/47 cont./

539 773

3. Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.
This man lived along the large road.

4. Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong tareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.
Now, whenever there were people who came along the way with their sarong over their head or with a pajong /parasol/, these people soon died (1).

554 576 689

1. A lower person who appears before a higher one with a sarong over his head or with a pajong, or who simply walks past his house, in so doing shows little respect for him. He can always expect punishment.

5. Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;
And thereupon this man who had that on his conscience was called an evil man in place of a courageous one.

6. Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:
Finally, the following statement was issued to this man:

7. Punna salllang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';
If in future I will no longer be here (if I will have risen up to heaven) and if you want to give me something, there is a stone there, situated in the middle of the land, there you must then give that to me.

554 565 576 /100 cont./ A favorite's daughter who temporarily resides in the house of her father's master may learn to make little cakes of a certain name and form, known only among the higher people. In that house she also learns the forms of social intercourse observed among household members and at daily meals. Upon returning home, her altered manners are immediately conspicuous. She addresses her mother only in a soft tone of voice, she does not eat as ravenously as the others, and she conducts herself completely like a well-brought up girl from the better social circles. At least in the beginning, she is also treated differently from the other children. "She bears the sign of daëng X" (2), it is said

2. Bata piarana daëng X, literally, "the etiquette of nurture by daëng X."

582 557 approvingly of her. As a result, she has a chance of a better marriage, that is to say, of a marriage to a higher man than any of her sisters would be entitled to, since they did not enjoy the privilege of staying temporarily in the house of daëng X.

/101/ When the seven-year-old son of my host offered me cigarettes and when he came to tell me that dinner was ready, he briefly dropped to his knees in so doing. This is a custom completely unknown in his father's group of relatives and borrowed from the karëng's kin group in whose house the father had lived in his early years. The custom was then taught to the son. The father laughed happily: "He knows his manners," and by this he meant that his son had appropriated good manners, namely of those who are higher. It is a sign of politeness to treat a higher guest with his own forms of social intercourse. The lower person who shows that he is familiar with these forms gains in standing in so doing. If this were to become a daily practice, his conduct would be

554 /101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
[585 groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
572] higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as
[626] arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

/132 cont./
Acculturation Phenomena

177 Cultural elements derived from western Europe and based upon the principle of equality cause difficulties when they are introduced into South Celebes. Only a few of these elements will be mentioned briefly to illustrate their conflict with the class structure. The most important of these are the public auction, soccer games /voetbalspel/, and the parliamentary form of government. Here we shall only indicate one aspect of this matter.

177 /133/ For colleagues to consult each other on a basis of equality, independent of status, cannot be reconciled with the 554 idea that it is impolite to tell a higher person that one does 576 not agree with him. A school inspector is higher than a teacher and so he knows better, such is the train of thought. At a conference convened around 1940 on behalf of the Department of Education, a Makassarese school inspector introduced a topic. The answer to the question whether there was agreement with what had been said consisted merely of a general "jo karaëng" (yes, sir). None of the teachers present dared to voice a different opinion for fear of being regarded as impolite.

The presence of two persons, one higher and one lower, who had been invited for the same meal by a Dutchman, produced various difficulties. The lower person waited until he was addressed before saying anything, and then he merely expressed agreement with what had been said. At most he would repeat the same thing in other words with a tone of assent. He would not take a single dish on his own initiative, but would wait until his host or the higher person pushed one in his direction, and even then he would eat only a few mouthfuls. As a result he had eaten practically nothing, when he rose from the table.

177 554 576 /133 cont./ Even modern Makassarese find these forms of conduct stiff. They make fun of them but are incapable of changing them, and rather than be impolite they leave the table hungry.

177 554 576 437 A public auction in the Makassarese environment is merely a caricature of what the Western jurists who initiated it had in mind. If a higher person bids, lower person does not dare to outbid him. Accordingly, he asks a man of higher status, an equal of the first bidder, who is favorably inclined toward him, to make a bid for him.

177 554 576 622 437 The head of the community concerned does not like to participate in the bidding personally. He runs the chance of being unexpectedly outbid by an ignorant stranger in Makassarese country. This signifies a challenge to him, and he must continue to bid much more than the object is worth to him in order not to suffer a defeat in the eyes of his subjects. And if the competitive bidding is done by a Dutch lady, as might occur in a small administrative settlement, then he is left merely with a laugh about such a "challenge."

177 554 576 626 A soccer game is based upon the equality of the players. But if a karaĕng takes part in the game, there can no longer be any question of equality /134/ (1). When the karaĕng

1. The fact that, according to a newspaper report from the Netherlands, Prince Bernhard had gained third prize in a steeplechase was regarded as a gross discourtesy on the part of the two winners.

shouted "Run out" (bakkai) to his goalkeeper, the forward of the opposing team who was running toward him interpreted this as a command directed at him; he stopped, and the

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

864 /141 cont./ Not until he is circumcised, at the age of seven to eight years, will a boy always wear a pair of pants under [304 his sarong. Adult men bathe in the nude, but in so doing 852] cover their genitals with the hand. Women keep their sarong on when they bathe. One of the first things that a Makassarese woman observed with surprise on Java was the fact that there the women bathe naked in the river. A girl always appears before her mother with her sarong. Young girls do tease each other at the well, "almost," when a sarong almost slips down. But if the sarong had really slipped off, the other would have denied this and would not have [576] spoken about it any further. This is how a girl knows her friends. Only those who do not like her would talk about it to others and make her ashamed (siri').

857 Children play "marriage." They put on rags and cloths. /142/ One of them is the bride's mother and helps the others, and they make sand cakes. The children may begin to quarrel and the matter often ends by a girl getting a shove or a blow which hurts so that she cries and runs away angrily. Sexual activities were definitely not observed. When an almost three-year-old boy was asked: "Why don't you play bridegroom" (buntimmako), he closed his eyes and stood motionless. The picture of the bridegroom, but above all, that of the bride, who, dressed in her most beautiful clothes, remains seated motionless for hours on end with cast-down eyes, had made the strongest impression on this three-year-old.

857 Boys and girls tend to play together up to the age of eight 858 to ten years so long as it works out. Up to that age girls 867 are also allowed to run around freely in the yard. But even before the appearance of puberty the separation is intensified. Boys learn that they must sit still and be quiet when the old 858 men speak. "After all, you are no longer a little child," 867 they are told. Around the same time, thus long before the

443 462 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 562 The activities of men and women therefore complement each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 554 576 571 521 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 562 571 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression. Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

521 562 571 576 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally. They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the same time about topics which they would also discuss at an ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 673 834 The forms of social intercourse between men and women are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

[561 858] These strict rules do not apply to children and older people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

[687] This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small dagger/, which frequently results in death.

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

595 /170 cont./ which this rule was taken
578 could not be traced down, just as it was not possible to find the Makassarese text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all.
[521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could
[593 remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must
576] put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the
276] other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place. The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door, she is let out.

585 The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
833 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
626 previous marriages young married couples again and again submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?" (namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
● 576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

834 Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes, young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally, they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

565/206 cont./ value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the
582 blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes, one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married (a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable. The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason can be shown. The idea that an individual is as he is, and
[828] that he himself can change little about this, explains fears that the second marriage will fail for the same reason. Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first marriage by having the second marriage take place from another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was prepared to react differently in this second marriage than in the first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies, where a young woman is introduced saying:

[539]

> "I would rather be a fallow
> piece of land, an unplowed
> sown field, than having a
> buffalo run over me who has
> already been under the yoke
> once."

[576] Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motion- 576] less. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival 627 of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always 627 present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed here, see A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, fourth edition, New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.

571 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same
578 descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

OB1 Indonesia OB1
Javanese OE5
Sumatra OD1
Redjang-Lampong OD12
MaKassar OG6
Gorontolo OG4

I J 291 [41 cont.] highly developed people of the archipelago, the men make their appearance at ceremonial functions, such as weddings, with the upper body bare, and this is also done in the court S costume. In the Palembang Highlands, too, the bridegroom [291] makes his appearance with the upper part of his body bare (1).

1. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 26.

G M R-L 291 576 Also, for example, in the Lampong districts, when boys and girls gather to sing pantun to each other, the adat prescribes that the boys appear with bare upper bodies or be fined. The Makassarese and Buginese uncover the upper body as a sign of respect (2), which also seems to be the case among the

2. Indische Gids, 1880, Vol. I., p. 970; Vol. II, p. 327.

Gorontalese. Leaving the upper part of the body bare is therefore truly national. The peoples of the Malay Archi- I 291 pelago adopted the garment that covers the upper body from the Arabs, if not earlier from the Hindus. This is a kind of jacket of various cuts. As a rule it closes around the neck with a stand-up collar and otherwise hangs open and loose down to the hips, while the wide sleeves barely extend over the elbows. Frequently, however, it is closed in front and open only at the neck so that it must be pulled on over the head. The Malay name is badju [baju], from which our M [Dutch] baadje (incorrectly baaitje) is derived. The word I badju is probably derived from the Persian bāzu (3); the Javanese J 291

3. Van der Tuuk, Tobasche spraakkunst, p. 403, note.

Ng. name for this garment is klambi or kulambi; in Kr. it

[375 cont.]

642 like. The way the liege lord summons his feudal tenants for a
423 festivity or war is peculiar. The invitation or summons is made
211 by means of bila-bila. Such a bila-bila is a strip of lontar leaf, in which a certain number of flat knots are tied. There are as many knots as there are days before the war starts or the festivity is to begin. There is a great difference in the way the feudal
● [576] tenant must take the bila-bila from the hand of the messenger or envoy of the liege lord, depending on whether it is a summons to war or an invitation to a festivity. The bila-bila for a festivity is taken by the royal feudal tenant with his right hand, while with the left hand he makes the motion used in dancing. The bila-bila for a war is accepted with the left hand, while he touches the kris with the right hand, the object being to demonstrate his devotion to the liege lord by dancing or swinging the kris. According to Dr. Matthes, bila-bila is a corruption of bilang-bilang, from bilang = to count, since the number of knots in the lontar leaf serve for calculating the number of days before the festivities or war will begin.

643 Otherwise, the government is organized the same as in
645 the Malay states. At the head stands a sovereign who is assisted by a state administrator and a state council. The general name in Makassarese for sovereign is karaëng, and in Buginese arung or patta (1). This is also the title, however, for a nongoverning

1. Since the type for the Buginese sound ᨅ is not in stock, the Buginese words that have this sound are spelled as above.

[376] prince. A ruling prince is karaëng mágaú (from gaú = deed, affair, and ágaú = to be active, to manage, and in Buginese, aru or patta mangkaú (the same radical gaú = deed, affair, and mágaú = to be active, to manage). The name of the state administrator is different in the various states and so is the composition of the state council. We shall now discuss the

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community] Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs (check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
363 pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself, going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the entering road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It appeared that most of the houses were located along the roads. I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not placed too close together so that the air could come up into the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e., of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands. Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation from time to time. However, she did sit at another table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576 ●
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197]
words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaëng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114]
in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaeng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had
● 576 a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
593 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).
123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room
177 under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaeng stands there but says nothing. Beside

South Celebes: Kuurman said that the league of three (Bone, Soppeng, Wadjo) was the most powerful unit here. It is headed by Bone. In the past, Goa was next to Bone, or at times vice versa. Now the Bone ruler is the kepala daerah, and Goa furnishes only the second man. (There must be an interesting psychological relationship here.) C 634

[Makassar] Abdul Rahim is not a Christian. He is a Mohammedan. But he told me that he was not too devout, as he sees good in all sects. He reads the Bible, for example. He is evidently one of the people in Makassar who belongs to a kind of "ethical culture society" which studies and discusses all religions, taking good points from each. I have heard about this in various quarters and wonder if they are mostly natives, mostly Christians, or what. M 115 795

Second trip to Balombaru, Tuesday, August 16th, 1949: When we left there last Friday, I asked when we should go again; maybe Saturday or Sunday? He [Abdul Rahim, the author's assistant--Analyst] said "No, Monday." Maybe this was so he could find an assistant, but I wonder if it may not have been to give the people a chance to talk the project over. I doubt the latter. Anyway, we went there and tried to see the Karaeng, but he was not in yet. Incidentally, I had to see the people today, as tomorrow is Independence Day and everything will be closed. There were lots of people in the Karaeng's office and a distribution of clothing was going on. But there were also many people coming in to see about something, possibly taxation. They all had a paper, which may have been a form or a type of bill. There was much talk regarding money, and I thought this was like the government in general. As a rule there is always some charge. I left from the Karaeng's place saying that I would return later and went to the Kepala kampong [head of the native village]. He lives in a pretty good house such as all notables seem to own. It is built in native style. He is a fine lad, young, good looking, pleasant, and gay. He is also well dressed. In the house there were also several others. I sat to the right of the Kepala kampong at the table. Rahim sat in front of him. The lad who is to be my assistant sat to the left of the Kepala kampong, and then there were about three other individuals sandwiched in. Everyone was ready to talk and the whole atmosphere was informal and impressively pleasant. Around the room sat young lads, girls and women. One older boy spoke up once or twice and received no rebuke. Everything was serene and there was no squabbling. Children behaved very well. The Kepala kampong has, I think, four or five children. M 124 M 124 576 855

124 They are small and pretty. They came from time to time to
576 sit on his lap and looked at me. He was serene and his
855 children were wonderful in behavior. Rahim got to the point at once and the Kepala kampong said that this fellow was the man. He indicated a rather angular fellow perhaps twenty-five years old, the kind of Adam's appled type. However, he seemed keen enough. He attended school (lower school only)
463 with Rahim. Then he [i.e., assistant to author--Analyst] got
311 into a trade working with a gold and silver smith. This happens to be one of the main trades of the village. Rahim said there were some farmers in the village, but there was not much wet rice land in the area. However, many people have sawah in other kampongs. Other trades in the village involved commercial enterprises, and being a prau man. A river runs by here and it is mentioned in Friederícy as the one where Goa once levied a river mouth tax on all praus. I
124 later found out that the lad was willing to give up his trade
465 for a while and work for me. He was somewhat ashamed
156 when Rahim asked him about a salary. He said he would leave that matter up to me and Rahim said that this was acting as a typical Makassarese, that is malu [timid, shy, ashamed], although I wonder if he would be so malu when talking about pay with the Chinese who runs the gold and silver business. Later I talked with Rahim about the matter of salary for this man. He told me that things were expensive now, the man had to give up his work, and so forth. He added that he needed more than three to four guilders a day
[593] for his family. And he added that if he did not receive enough his wife would complain. Evidently he must keep his wife happy. So even among the Makassarese a wife nags. Rahim is very strong on the point of getting and keeping in the good graces of one's wife. This is a revelation to me, as I thought women in Mohammedan lands kept their mouths shut. But here, perhaps, is an indication of the underlying qualities of Malayo-Polynesian women. Rahim finally said that one hundred rupiah per month would be all right. I asked about the regular pay which a smith might receive. He said that it was very good, as much as f.10 or f.15 per day. I then said that maybe f.100 was too low, and that I would go up to f.150. He seemed pleased that I was not going to be a chiseler, and said that I could pay a reasonable salary and then if I wanted to, at the end, I could give a bonus. I asked if I had better not give some sort of advance, and he agreed. Hence I gave f. 30 to be given to the assistant (named Mohammed Saleh) who will call on Rahim Thursday after Hari Merdeka.

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of
142 Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts
224 were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
342 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
181 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
● 576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad experiences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

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Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties would get much support. He also said that the relatively

665 521

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576●
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

342 574 852 565 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the feast house and so we went there. There they were with much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes], and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor. I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouth-wash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

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535 533 [292] Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes. Three were in red and four in black. And they were very pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

535 567 565

although he told me that they were "his people". He said that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And even later, when they are no longer able to perform as padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry. The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot, and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, dead-pan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth. The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about before the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

535 565 567 [435 582] 574 431 181 576 567 [292]

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still dancing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
● 576 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
431 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
567 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
181 regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 588] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
● 576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me pa'ika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

Regarding sex, Thierens said that the extreme repression of it and the lack of open relations of a social sort between boys and girls here causes a high rate of homosexuality among boys. He said that nearly all boys are so. This may also link with the wandu custom, or at least the prostitute part of it. The boys are used to homosexual practice in youth, and like it. Also, perhaps the women, so bound by adat, are cold. Thus the homosexuals may be an attraction. The whole dead business has paralyzed these people even down to the simple sex matter. I remember the homosexual practices in Bontorio. But that was in the court, where there were girls. Maybe even there it was hard to get girls, and there may have been little in the way of social relationships. I remember that Bontorio had to get his slave girls on the sly. That is what Andi said, things must be kept in the dark. M 831 838 181 154

In regard to the Toala and the To Patuntung, I went to Soppeng on Sunday. We took one route down and another one back. It is in a rather mountainous section but Soppeng itself is a large and attractive town. On the way we could see the remoteness of many of the people here, even those on the road. In Soppeng I met Denzo, the Christian leader. He is young and good looking, much like Lethe in type and manners. His family comes from Saleier, but also from Bone. He was born in Saleier. He was baptized in 1937 although coming from a Mohammedan family. His mother is also a Christian and so is at least one sibling. He said that this resulted in some trouble with his father. By 1939, he had 800 Christians. During the Japanese time this number shot up to 2,000 and now he has about 3,000. This is the only place in the Buginese country where there are Christians. He has a church which is a part of the Protestant Church of Indonesia. But it is not a mission proper. He said that he converted from all classes, including at least one high fellow. He said that there are more women than men which did surprise me. I asked him how to approach women. He said that one must first ask the man. If the man is converted, then one can work on the woman, and usually the whole family becomes Christian. But one may not talk to the woman without the man's consent. Denzo said there was some trouble with the radja and with the nobles and with the fanatic Mohammedans. But after a while there was not so much trouble because they found out the Christians did not break up the adat and so they could not be too bad. Again we see the point that adat comes first, the Mohammedan practices being secondary. M 797 562 M [576] M [181]

Then I asked about the To Patuntung. He said there are not so many of them. They are ten kilometers walk south of C 563